

## Message Text

SECRET

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43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

----- 130832

R 061659 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4346

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL SALT

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 05129

EXDIS

DEPT PASS VEST; VIENNA FOR DEAN; SHAPE FOR INTAF

E. O. 11652: X- GDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: "BAHR PLAN"

SUMMARY: CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION HAS BEEN UNLEASHED IN GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND PRESS BY WALTER HAHN ORBIS ARTICLE ON SO- CALLED FOUR STEP "BAHR PLAN" LEADING TO DISSOLUTION OF NATO. FIRST TWO STEPS, ESSENTIALLY INNER-GERMAN TREATY AND MOSCOW/ WARSAW TREATIES, ARE ACHIEVED, IT HAS BEEN NOTED. THIRD STEP ALLEGEDLY INVOLVES MAJOR EAST/ WEST FORCE REDUCTIONS, AND FONOFF SOURCES STRUCK BY ATLANTIC NEWS REPORT THAT BAHR WISHES TO TAKE OVER GERMAN MBFR NEGOTIATION HELM. SOME SOURCES BELIEVE THAT, WITHOUT REGARD TO MBFR, BAHR THINKS THERE ARE TOO MANY US TACNUCS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

1. AS INDICATED BONN 4809, LAST WEEKEND' S DIE WELT REPORTED ON THE ORBIS ARTICLE, DESCRIBING THE SO- CALLED  
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"BAHR PLANFOR TURN TOWARD DETENTE", WHICH ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED THE FOLLOWING FOUR STEPS:

(A) GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GDR, GENERAL ARRANGEMENT WITH EAST BERLIN, EXCHANGE OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES BUT WITHOUT RECOGNITION OF THE EAST GERMAN REGIME IN AN INTERNATIONAL LEGAL SENSE;

(B) RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AGREEMENTS AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE EAST EUROPEAN STATES, AND RECOGNITION OF THE EXISTING BORDERS IN PRESENTS CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE AND PROVIDES NO DEFINITIVE LIGHT ON CURRENT CONTROVERSY OVER "BAHR PLAN".  
HILLENBRAND

SECRET

ADP000  
SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W  
----- 130817

R 061659 Z APR 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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INFO SECDEF WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USDEL SALT  
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 05129

EXDIS

SCHEEL WOULD VIGOROUSLY OPPOSE AN EFFORT BY BAHR TO TAKE OVER PRINCIPAL GERMAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MBFR ENTERPRISE.

5. CONCERNING "THIRD STEP", RELIABLE FONOFF SOURCE

INFORMED EMBOFF APRIL 4 IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT, DURING BRANDT'S RECENT BILATERAL VISIT TO BRUSSELS, BAHR HAD PRIVATE CHAT WITH SYG LUNS. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, BAHR SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WERE, WITHOUT REGARD TO MBFR, TOO MANY US TACNUCS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WHILE HIMSELF SEEING SOME MERIT IN MBFR MIXED PACKAGE INCLUDING REDUCTION OF US TACNUCS, FONOFF SOURCE WAS TROUBLED THAT BAHR'S COMMENTS WERE MADE AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE-- I. E. TACNUCS BURDEN EAST/ WEST ATMOSPHERE-- RATHER THAN IN MBFR CONTEXT. IT MAY BE RECALLED, IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT ROTH INFORMED US IN EARLY JANUARY FOR FIRST TIME THAT HE FAVORED MBFR MIXED PACKAGE INCLUDING REDUCTIONS OF TACNUCS ( BONN 168).

6. CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF BAHR'S VIEWS CONCERNING THE  
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" FOURTH STEP"-- ALL EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM TO REPLACE NATO AND WARSAW PACT-- IS NOT AVAILABLE. BUT SOME FONOFF OFFICIALS MAKE MUCH OF THE FACT THAT BAHR HAS OCCASIONALLY ARGUED WITHIN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, WITH OPPOSITION OF SCHEEL AND CSCE DEL CHIEF BRUNNER, THAT FRG MUST TAKE SOVIET VIEWS ON CSCE MORE INTO ACCOUNT.

7. COMMENT: ALL OF THE ABOVE OBVIOUSLY REIAL

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PARTIES.

9. COMMENT: ( A) CLEARLY , MOT ( AND OBI AGAIN SEEMS TO BE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FOR THAT ORGANIZATION ON AIR MATTERS) BELIEVES THAT TWA IS A GIANT TO BE CUT TO SIZE BEFORE SERIOUS BUSINESS CAN BE DONE. ALTHOUGH OBI DOES NOT SEEM TO RECOGNIZE IT, THIS TACTIC MAY WELL BE MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR TWO TO CONTINUE HERE.

( B) EMBASSY HAS SEEN NO EVIDENCE TO LEND ANY SUBSTANCE TO OBI'S CHARGES OF HIGH- HANDED BEHAVIOR BY TWA. ONLY VISIBLE TWA FAULT WAS STICKING WITH ITS HIGH- COST PROPOSAL FOR CREWING BEYOND POINT OF NO RETURN. LEADER OF TWA GROUP, BARNEY TUMEY, HAS STRUCK US ASEXPERIENCED, COMPETENT, AND LEVEL- HEADED OFFICIAL WHO HAS RETAINED POISE IN FACE OF EXTREME PROVOCATION.

( C) TWA ONLY WENT TO LAWSON AS LAST RESORT WHEN IT APPARENT THAT NIGERIA AIRWAYS WAS IN DANGER OF HAVING TO CLOSE DOWN INTERNATIONAL SERVICES. FOR WHAT WE CAN SEE, BOI WAS WELL ALONG ON PATH TO CUTTING TWA DOWN BEFORE LAWSON EPISODE OCCURRED.

( D) WHILE OUTLOOK OBVIOUSLY BLEAK FOR SATISFACTORY

RESOLUTION OF TWA PROBLEM, IT EVEN DIMMER FOR SOLUTION OF NA'S DESPERATE PROBLEMS. IT SEEMS QUITE CERTAIN THAT NO INTERNATIONAL AIRLINE COULD SUCCEED IN BRINGING NA UP TO A REASONABLE STANDARD WITHOUT LATITUDE TWA INSISTING ON. BUT IT SEEMS EQUALLY CLEAR DOMINANT PERSONALITIES IN MOT UNWILLING GIVE OUTSIDERS THIS KIND OF AUTHORITY.

(E) PERHAPS MOST DISTRESSING ASPECT OF THIS EPI-SODE IS REVELATION OF LOW STATE TO WHICH LAWSON AND HIS OFFICE HAS SUNK. ATTA BUILT OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF FMG TO SOMETHING APPROACHING PRIME MINISTER STATUS. NOW OBI WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE IT IS ONLY A PAPER- PUSHING SHOP. IN VIEW OF LACK OF COMPETENCE AND POOR QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP IN MAY MINISTRIES, E. G., TRADE, INDUS-TRY, TRANSPORT, THIS IS ALARMING. IN PAST ATTA WOULD STRAIGHTEN OUT MINISTRIES THAT STRAYED. NOW IT APPEARS THERE MAY BE NO CHANNEL OF APPEAL EXCEPT TO VERY TOP, AND THAT ONE IS NOT OFTEN AVAILABLE.

(F) BEFORE RESIGNING OURSELVES TO WHAT APPEARS TO BE INEVITABLE DEPARTURE OF TWA WE SHOULD RECALL THAT GEN. GOWON PERSONALLY GUIDED THIS CONTRACT THROUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. IT POSSIBLE THAT HE AND OTHER TOP LEADERS MAY CONCLUDE THAT LAST- MINUTE EFFORT NECESSARY TO SALVAGE CONTRACT BECAUSE BREAK- UP WOULD BE GREAT EMBARRASSMENT FOR NIGERIA. SUCH EFFORT WOULD, OF COURSE, REQUIRE CHANGE IN TWA STRATEGY AND TACTICS THAT THEY MAY NOT BE WILLING ACCEPT AFTER WOUNDS OF LAST TWO WEEKS. REINHARDT

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* EXDIS

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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